WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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The Canadian Party Trial

The Government Outlaws the Communist Movement

The first state trial of its kind in the experience of the Dominion has passed into history. On Friday November 13, eight leading members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada were convicted at the Fall Assizes, under section 98 of the Criminal Code on three counts: of belonging to an unlawful association, of being officers of suih an association, and of being parties to a seditious conspiracy. Seven were sentenced to five years imprisonment each on the first two counts and two more years on the third count, the sentences to run concurrently. These are Tim Buck, secretary of the party, T. Ewan, secretary of the Workers Unity League, Malcolm Bruce, editor of **The Worker,** John Boychuk, M. Popovitch, Sam Carr. Thomas Cacic was sentenced to two years. All those of foreign birth, though citizens, will be subject to an order for deportation under section 9 of the Naturalization Act which provides for the revocation of papers of anyone "who has shown himself by act or speech to be disaffected or disloyal to His Majesty". An order has been further issued for the confiscation of all party property.

The Offensive Against the Workers

The prosecution has been the high-water mark of the political reaction in Canada since the economic crisis set in. The army of the unemployed has risen to unprecedented proportions. The organized workers are confronted with attacks on their standards of living. The wage cut offensive has been launched against railroad workers, mine workers, steel workers and others. To the demands of the workers for unemployment insurance or adequate relief the Bennet Government has turned a deaf ear. Against the Soviet Union, it declared a trade embargo. To crush the resistance of the masses, to terrorize them against manifestations of discontent, the possessing classes through their police power have practically abrogated the civil liberties and other democratic rights. This offensive has been waged with particular bitterness and ruthlessness against the Communist Party as the single political organization of the workers which dared to expose the bankruptcy of the capitalist class and to offer leadership against saddling the workers and poor farmers with the burdens of the crisis. Finally the Attorney-General of Ontario instigated a series of raids last August 11, which resulted in the arrest of the party leaders under section 98 of the Criminal Code.

Prosecution Mobilizes Its Heavy Artillery

The section in question was enacted in 1919 by the Conservative Government in office at the time, and determined to suppress the Winnipeg Strike, which was a product of the post war crisis. The section reads: "Any association, organization, society or corporation whose professed or one of whose professed purposes is to bring about any governmental, industrial or economic change within Canada by use of force, violence, terrorism or physical injury to person or property, or by threats of such injury or which teaches, advocates, advises or defends, the use of force, violence, terrorism or physical injury to person or property, or threats of such injury, in order to accomplish such change, or for any other purpose, or which shall by any means prosecute or pursue such purpose or professed purpose, or shall so teach, advocate, advive or defend, shall be an unlawful association".

In outlining his case, the special Crown prosecutor charged that the work of the Communist Party was "a deliberate, continuous, subtle conspiracy directed and controlled by Moscow to overturn by force, by violence, by bloodshed, all the existing institutions of church and state in Canada". To this end he proposed to show that the Communist Party was formed in 1921 as an underground illegal oragnization known as the "Z" party, while it carried on its public activity under the name of the "A" or Workers' Party. During this time, he alleged, the Canadian party had been a section of the Communist International and was subject to the control of the E. C. C. I.

The Crown Spy A "Sensation"

The Crown entered on an elaborate description of the internal structure of the party, from the nucleus at the bottom to the convention at the top, the division of labor on the Central Committee, the functions of the Political Bureau, the role of the fractions. The Workers Unity League and the Farmers Unity League, stated the prosecution,

(Continued on page 4)

Opposition in Drive for Jewish Paper

The Communist League of America (Opposition) is happy to announce a step that will gladden the heart of every reader of **The Militant** who is concerned with the triumph of the ideas of the Left Opposition.

We have decided to publish a **semi-monthly paper in the Jewish Language** in order to bring the views of the International Left Opposition and its American section, to the Jewish workers.

Over four years have passed since Stalin in a **bloc** with the Right wing (Bucharin, Rykov, Tomsky), and aided by the very people who later had to stand trial and were condemned as sabotagers, decided to amputate the proletarian Left from the Communist Party and the Comintern. Since then a campaign of terror, slander and villification, which has known no precedent in the history of the internal struggles inside the revolutionary movement, has been carried on against the brave and sturdy fighters led bp Leon Trotsky. These would not falter in their principle convictions before the administrative whip.

The Role of the Press

It is not our task here to recount the details of the struggle. We wish only to point out the tremendous role that the press of the Soviet Union, as well as that of the whole International Communist movement, played in the attempt to silence the voices of the best revolutionary Marxists and the heirs of Lenin. The Stalinist apparatus wielded a whole net of newspapers, like so many parrots repeating at a given signal in almost every corner of the globe, the same slander, the same lies about the Left Opposition. Wherever the Stalinist press did not carry its "message", the capitalist newspapers did the job by repeating in unison the legend that Trotsky's program would lead the U. S. S. R. to ruin, that Stalin is a realist, etc.

But the schemes of the conspirators did not fully succeed. In almost every country where there is a Communist Party, little groups of the Communist vanguard were beginning to doubt the canned stories about the Opposition. Very soon, when the rays of truth were becoming discernible through the clouds, these groups unfurled the banner of the Left Opposition and carried it forward. The Left Opposition was not silenced.

In the United States we are now winding up the third year of the existence of the Communist League of America (Opposition). We have consolidated a group, which even though not as yet numerous, is nevertheless on the increase.

But what is more, we are strong in the conviction of the correctness of the ideas that inspire our struggle, and are confident of the ultimate triumph of these ideas. We have ploughed the ground. We have sown the seeds. We have published some of the fundamental works of the Opposition in book and pamphlet form. Through the pages of **The Militant** we have carried our message to the workers and Communists, pointing out the correct road to them when the apparatus men were deflecting the workers.

Next Step—A Jewish Paper

We must broaden our field of activity. It is in this spirit that we have decided to commence the publication of a paper in the Jewish language. This, following closely upon the publication of the youth paper, **Young Spartacus,** is another progressive step for the Left Opposition.

It is incontestable that there is a tremendous field for an Opposition paper in Jewish. In New York City alone there are four Jewish daily papers, read primarily by workers, besides numerous weekly and monthly publications. All of them, in one way or another, befog the issues confronting the workers. The Needle Trades have been the arena of many courageous and bitter struggles. There we have in miniature a display of the profound problems that confront the working class.

Raise Funds

More than ever do these workers need a clear voice. More than ever they must be imbued with a knowledge of what is correct. Unfortunately not enough workers could be reached solely through **The Militant.** We hope that a paper in the Jewish language will therefore prove of a great service.

THE NEED FOR A PAPER OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN THE JEWISH LANGUAGE IS CLEAR. **We are ready to answer that need.** But to get started, we NEED THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS. The next step therefore belongs to our comrades and sympathizers.

In its campaign of slander against the Left Opposition, the Stalinist **Freiheit** outdoes even the **Daily Worker.** It realizes we had no Jewish medium to reply. Only recently it carried two articles by Larin who tried to deride comrade Trotsky's brilliant theses on the "Problems of the Development of the U. S. S. R." Bankrupt as Larin's argument were, still many workers are deceived thereby.

Make it possible for us to bring out a Jewish paper.

SEND YOUR DONATION NOW! Collect from sympathizers.

Send all funds to

JEWISH PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE
Communist League of America (Opp.)
% M. Lewit, 84 East 10th Street,
New York, N. Y.

S.O.S!

Help The Militant!

Only by the closest economy was it possible to get out the current issue of the **Weekly Militant.** Whether we can continue for another issue as a Weekly depends completely upon the money that reaches us in the next few days. Unemployment is heavy among our supporters, we know; still, we count upon our supporters and sympathizers again to rise to our need and send in sufficient money to enable the **Weekly Militant** to keep going during this difficult period.

In all directions, the activities of the Left Opposition—Communist League of America—have extended. More than ever before, the ideas of the Left Opposition make their way in the trade unions and affect the trade union policy of the Communists. Efforts have increased to correct the narrow, sectarian line of the I. L. D. and similar organizations. On the rank and file of the Communist party; the views expressed in **The Militant** meet more and more with a favorable response and sympathy.

An International Paper

The **Weekly Militant** is the only paper in the United States—working class or bouregois, in the English or foreign languages—that regularly and comprehensively informs the workers on the events, developments and great significance of the Spanish Revolution. If but for this service alone to the revolutionary proletariat, the WEEKLY MILITANT must be maintained.

The WEEKLY MILITANT, better and more accurately than any other working class paper in the labor and revolutionary movement in America, informs its readers on the events and developments of the international labor and Communist movement. It is imperative that our readers make it possible for **The Militant** to continue this historic work.

We ask you who read this issue of **The Militant** immediately to help by SENDING IN A DONATION IMMEDIATELY.

Help to build the SUSTAINING FUND. Decide today that you will make a regular contribution for the maintenance of the WEEKLY MILITANT. It is the best way to organize and systematize the budget of **The Militant.** Become a SUPPORTER OF THE SUSTAINING FUND.

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The Manchurian Crisis

Friday November 20, 1931

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NEXT WEEK: Friday, November 27th—

After the British Elections

Lecture by JAMES P. CANNON

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Japanese Imperialists Press On

Unite the Working Class Against the Capitalist War Plots

There is no cessation of military activities between Japan and China on the Manchurian fields. On the contrary, Japan has increased her military forces and magnified her agressions in Manchuria. Hundreds fall dead and wounded in what the capitalist class merely calls "skirmishes" between Japan and General Ma's Chinese forces in Manchuria. Japan now more brazenly aims for domination of Manchuria and raises the prospective penetration of Eastern Mongolia. Tsitihar may be taken and sacked any day by the Japanese, who thus deliberately aim at incitement of the Soviet Republic within whose sphere of influence and agreements with China, Tsitihar is located.

The League of Nations is now meeting in Paris to attempt to "settle" the Manchurian invasion. The Japanese flatly declined the League of Nations "demand" to evaculate Manchuria of all armed forces by November 16. The League of Nations proves impotent, and the equally powerless Chinese government still looks to the League for salvation. Nor has the United States been successful in her diplomatic approaches and negotiations. On the war front against Japanese imperialism, apart from incidental resistance, China comes beseeching and groveling for peace. Japan, aggressive and certain of its powerful position, sneers at the requests of the capitalist nations, and demands unconditional recognition of her "five points" first. Only the prospect that the Soviet Union may yet be compelled to defend herself against the systematic incitements by Japan gives the latter pause.

The Japanese Demands

Japan's five demands upon China and the capitalist powers are summarized as follows: (1) repudiation of aggressive conduct by China and Japan (hear! hear!); (2) respect of China's territorial integrity (if Japan finds it not possible to slice a big chunk immediately); (3) suppression of all organized movements interfering with trade and stirring up of international hatreds (this refers to the economic boycott of Japanese goods by China, a thorn in the side of Japanese merchants and capitalists); (4) effective protection of Japanese subjects in Manchuria in their trade, etc.; (5) acceptance of the treaty rights of Japan in Manchuria (that is, the continued acceptance of the infamous 21 points forced upon China by Japan.)

According to reports in the capitalist press, it is said that the "compromise" plan of the League of Nations is as follows: To have direct negotiations between Japan and China on the first four points, but that the completion of evacuation shall not depend on these direct negotiations. Regarding the fifth point, involving the 21 points, negotiations theron shall begin after evacuation has been completed.

Situation Remains Critical

As **The Militant** goes to press, affairs remain at a standstill in respect to the cessation of war hostilities, as well as negotiations for peace. The situation remains critical and the danger of a conflict that would involve all nations in war has not been removed even for the immediate period. Japan has continuously and directly incited and provoked the Soviet Union; the other capitalist powers, led by the United States, have continued also to lie about and slander the Soviet Union, which has a determined peace policy. All the imperialist powers have the ultimate object to unify their forces in a common front of the imperialist bandits against the Workers' Republic.

As a matter of fact Japan's invasion of Manchuria has been given encouragement by some of the imperialist powers, such as Great Britain, and, to an extent by the United States also. Each of them has a close eye to a prospective share in the plundering of Manchuria, Mongolia and China in the forthcoming period. It is not to be forgotten that the United States already has investments of great sums in Manchuria; and though hesitating at open warfare now, fears the constant encroachments of Japan. It prefers at the present time a settlement short of war.

The United States has tremendous hopes, both in Manchuria and China, for wide commercial relations and capital investments. A unified National Government, sufficiently unqualified however to find it necessary to make concessions of an economic and political character to the United States, is the more desirable to her, as against a completely disintegrated China, subject to plunder by all the imperialist powers.

Japan Determined To Dominate Manchuria

Japan, no matter what the outcome of the present embroglia, is determined to intrench herself in Manchuria, having, in fact, eventual annexation in mind, as well as the further economic penetration of China proper.

Japan feels quite cocky aobut it all and says she can do a better job of exploitation of the Manchurian masses than others. In Manchuria, for instance, Chinese war-lords have forced upon the population some seven billions of paper money, against which there is a reserve only of 60 million in silver yens ($30,000,000). Of 200 million yens collected in taxes, 120,000,000 reached the viceroy's office and of the latter amount 80 million went into armaments expenditures. So as far as exploitation of the Chinese masses in Manchuria is concerned Japanese control would represent only a change of masters, and the Japanese feel they are more efficient at exploitation than the Chinese militarists. It is to be noted that of the 30 million population in Manchuria, over 29 and a half million of these are Chinese, and the remaining half million composed of Japanese, Koreans, etc.

The Capitalist Powers Want Their Booty

The Foreign powers are apprehensive of Japan's Manchurian invasion, feeling that Japan is taking undue advantage of the situation to create monopolies, and that, they complain, would be "violation of the open door", that is, the infamous policy for common capitalist exploitation of the resources and population of Manchuria and China. The complaint of the capitalists is not at all at the exploitation engaged in by Japan, but at the fact that the Japanese "have their feet in every trough" and the others can't get in. The Japs, in short, result what may of the momentary struggle, are getting and expect to maintain a trade grip in Manchuria, despite the temporary stagnation of trade caused by the battles and the economic boycott of Japanese goods by the Chinese.

In Japan itself everything is being done to foster the jingo spirit. While clanging the fire-arms and beating the war drums, the Japanese bourgeoisie appeal to the narrow "national" interests of the Japanese people. They point out that Japan has already for decades been speeding up her industrial development, finding it necessary more and more to push into Chinese territory for essential raw materials, markets, and capital investment. To maintain her present social, economic and industrial life, they continue, it is necessary by all means to hold and to extend their influence and domination in Manchuria and China.

The Aims of the Chinese Bourgeoisie

On the other hand, the comparatively young Chinese bourgeoisie, hoping to inflict a final or long-enduring defeat upon the Chinese workers and peasants, want and expect to develop China greatly on bourgeois economic and industrial lines. Hence they wish to exploit the Chinese masses for themselves. Here presents itself an immediate and outstanding contradiction of capitalist development in the Far East; and, further, we must remember, both England and the United States, especially, are making every effort to increase their footholds in China. These facts alone increase the prospects of war on a world scale to the bursting point.

The government at Tokyo constantly emphasizes its economic problem. The Japanese envoy to France and to the League of Nations Council, Kenkichi Yoshizawa points out that "beginning with the South Manchurian Railway we have made investments of a purely economic character . . . For the protection of this railway zone we have the right . . . **to station 15,000 troops** therein. . . Our institutions, railway rights, mining exploitation, timber felling and the like are based upon treaties."

Hence, Japan concludes, it is only exercising "self-defense" in Manchuria, even as does the United States in Nicaragua, Haiti, Cuba, Santa Domingo, etc.! In brief, Japan operates in Manchuria after the manner of the Western powers that have for decades pilfered and slaughtered in all parts of the world to make secure their pillage, particularly in the exploitation of the calonial and semi-calonial countries.

Japan is determined to rule in Manchuria. In addition to seizing Mukden and occupying additional territory, the Japanese are setting up a puppet Manchurian government, a so-called "independent, autonomous government", which simply means a government of Japanese tools easy to control. The "independence" movement in Manchuria is therefore but another screen to mask Japan's depredations. Only when the Chinese masses in Manchuria establish a Soviet Manchuria, will there be a genuine independent and autonomous Manchuria.

Japan lays her base for any eventuality—peace or continued war. Japan is disturbed that her gold standard also may go into the discard. Her financial

(Continued on page 4)

White Guards Plot Against Trotsky

The German Communist Party central organ, the **Rote Fahne,** reports in its issue of October 31 the discovery of a plot organized by white guards to assassinate leading Bolsheviks. The plot is engineered by an organization called the Russian All-Military Association whose main leader is the one time Czarist general Anton Wasiliewitsch Turkul.

We quote from the **Rote Fahne** verbatim:

"An extraordinary piece of provocation, as planned by Turkul, is to be the assassination of Trotsky . . . In executing his plans the honorable general will utilize the fact, which has already been reported by his agents, that Trotsky is poorly protected by the Turkish authorities."

This is the story of the German party central organ. It corroborates what we have emphasized so many times, namely, the danger of comrade Trotsky's life in his white guard-infested exile selected for him by Stalin. The white guards have no illusions, and do not for one instant believe any of the Stalinist slanders of "Trotsky, the counter-revolutionary." They know comrade Trotsky exactly in the same way as world capitalism does, as the closest co-worker of Lenin as the one who stood shoulder to shoulder with him in the October events when most of those who now besmirch his name were wavering. They know him as the main organizer of the successful insurrection, as the organizer and leader of the Red Army and as the still uncompromising revolutionary defender of the proud banner of Marx and Lenin. This is why comrade Trotsky's life is in constant danger in Constantinople.

Did Litvinoff know of this danger to comrade Trotsky at the time of his recent visit to Kemal Pasha Undoubtedly he did. Did Stalin and his clique of bureaucrats know of this danger when they decided upon comrade Trotsky's exile to Constantinople? Without a doubt they knew that. While we may not become more alarmed by the sinister designs of a general Turkul than of any other white guard mercenary, nevertheless the fact of the always existing serious danger remains. This particular report lends additional emphasis to that fact. But the all-important question still remains: What is the Stalin regime going to do?

This question every party comrade, every revolutionary worker should ask from the party leadership. Will Stalin take steps to lift the exile of comrade Trotsky and to provide for his return to the Soviet Union? Will Stalin dare to submit this question to the Russian revolutionary workers for them to decide?

Demonstration in Athens Against Terror

—ATHENS, GREECE

Our Greek comrades, the Archio-Marxists (Left Opposition) protested before the Athenian Club in Athens against the terrorist measures that the Greek Government has openly carried on against the striking shoe-makers.

During the meeting of the Cabinet, groups of the Archio-Marxists appeared and protested against the blood-thirsty Venizelos, the notorious lackey of the Greek and foreign bourgeoisie. Within a few minutes, the broad avenue Panepistimou was filled with workers who shouted for a hearing to be given the Strikers' Committeee. The tsrikers carried red banners. A strong police force attacked the demonstrators; our comrades heroically resisted the attacks with stones. With fresh reinforcements, the police succeeded in smashing the demon stration. The leaders and many strikers were arrested.

A little later another group of Archio-Marxists were parading through the Aeolou Street, shouting for the strikers and for the Soviet Union, when a special police squad again struck at the demonstrators and arrested 60 of them. Many strikers were wounded.

The 60 arrested comrades of the Left Opposition are charging with resistance to the police, violation of the sedition law, and illegal carrying of deadly weapons.

Athens, November 1st, 1931.

Third Annual MILITANT DANCE Saturday, Nov. 21 at Stuyvesant Casino

ON THE WORKERS' FRONT

A «New Era» in A. C. W.

The triumphant victory achieved by Sidney Hillman in his fight against the Orlofsky-Beckerman gang in the New York organization has been marred by an unpleasant, though in ordinary times an insignificant incident.

While Hillman was preparing a jubilant celebration of this triumph on the occasion of the liquidation of the Orlofsky-Beckerman opposition racket, the news leaked out in the **Freiheit** of his secret negotiations with the underworld, where the finishing touches of the settlement with the racketeers for the liquidation of their racket were made. The **Freiheit** even disclosed the details of the settlement and the various sums paid out to each of the important participants in this racket. There was a complete picture of a sales transaction in the old Hillman tradition.

Hillman in a Deal with the Racketeers

Surely, it was a disagreeable disclosure, bound to defame Hillman's entire campaign against racketeering which has been so promising a venture as well as a vital necessity for his prestige. Hillman did not lose time. He hurried with statements of denial to the press. He rushed to the meeting of the Cutters' Local that took place in the evening of the same day when the news appeared. In an unfaltering speech he condemned the Communist attacks as malicious upon the good name of the Amalgamated.

But, alas, the facts of the settlement have already been widely broadcast in the clothing market, so that Hillman's denials were of no avail. Thus Hillman's victory has been deprived of its sweetness. The effect was not certain, though the gesture was so firm.

However, Hillman's spirit has remained undaunted. He did not hesitate to declare to the world in general and to the clothing workers in particular, the coming of a new era in the Amalgamated with the cleansing of the organization of its corrupt elements. What this new era will represent and what it promises to the membership he did not make clear. But he urged the members to be patient, disband their groups, cease their criticism of the officials, rest their fate with the latter, and their future will be secure.

No Changes in Policies

Will this **new era** bring back the union conditions in the shops, will it bring a reversal of policy of the organization of serving the interests of the manufacturers, to that of protecting the interests of the workers? Hillman did not state. The membership will draw the logical conclusions from Hillman's recent actions.

A certain change in the situation is to be expected, but this change will hardly be for the benefit of the membership in spite of all the promises of the officialdom. The regime in the A. C. W. and the corrupt atmosphere have not been changed with the removal of some of its corrupt officials in the latest campaign. The policies of the organization have remained the same as before the so-called campaign against racketeering.

Before any improvement in the conditions of the workers can be attempted, the activity of the masses must be developed, self-expression of the membership must be assured and the policies radically changed. Hillman's announced crusade against active groups in the organization can serve as a warning to the membership of what they can expect in the future and what Hillman's **new era** holds out for them.

The membership must give the answer to the attempts of the Hillman bureaucracy to further worsen their conditions and suppress their resistance. The membership must strengthen their activity in their locals and groups if they ever can hope to effect a change in their conditions. They must launch their own campaign aganist racketeering and corruption in the organization which alone can guarantee them a clean organization and a **new era** of improved conditions.

—ALBERT ORLAND.

(Due to technical hindrances, this article appears belatedly; it retains, however, its complete validity. Other articles on the A. C. W. will appear inforthcoming issues of **The Militant.**

THE MOVEMENT FOR MOONEY IN BOSTON

BOSTON.—

At the I. L. D.-Mooney Conference in Boston on October 25, comrades Cooperstein and Shechet were delegates from the Communist League (Opposition branch. Comrade Shechet was elected to the credentials committee and the Opposition was seated. It was a pretty dull conference until comrade Cooperstein asked some questions regarding the last amnesty conference and criticized the lack of activity. Comrade Cantor immediately interpreted this as an attack upon the I. L. D. in an attempt to set the conference against us. But this machine was sadly disappointed when comrade Shechet rose to say that criticism should not be taken in that manner.

It is only with the interest of the work at heart that we criticize in order to avoid repetition of neglect to carry on the work, comrade Shechet went on to say. Tom Mooney, after spending fifteen of the best years of his life in a California dungeon has realized that the reactionary right wing has betrayed and deserted him. He has now turned his face to the Left wing of the movement. Let us prove to him, to the entire working class and to ourselves that we really demand the unconditonal release of Mooney. The only way to do this is to set right to work instead of merely calling conferences. We must broaden the base of our work by reaching the masses on behalf of Mooney; to reach the masses we must penetrate every organization where workers are concerned, regradless of all hardships. Comrade Shechet concluded by saying that she hoped that this confernce will lay the foundation for a sound, broad organization with the one objective in mind: the unconditional release of Tom Mooney.

What the Conference Did

This sentiment undoubtedly expressed that of the 72 delegates. But the apparatus-man, Nat Kaplan, angry at the reception accorded comrade Shechet's remarks, delivered a speech at great length to tell us that it made no difference whether we agree with the way the Five Year Plan is being carried out; and that whatever intentions of disruption our militant phrases may cover up, the work will go on! It is quite obvious that he came prepared with this speech and had to say it regardless of what we said.

The conference itself only set up a committee of one delegate from each organization represented. This committee was to meet November 1st to map out plans for work. But when comrade Shechet came to the appointed place at the scheduled time, she found no one there except the secretary who told her that the meeting was **postponed** duo to the absence of the "leaders" and without them nothing can be done.

The Lawrence Strike

After the October 25 conference itself we went to what was supposed to be a mass meeting for the Lawrence Strikers. There were about thirty at this meeting. Listening to the reports of Cantor and Ballam which contradicted each other, one could almost laugh were it not so tragic. Cantor reported that the workers in Lawrence are paying their own fines because they are not ready to give the sacrifice of staying in jail. Right after he finished, Ballam delivered one of his usual orations, saying that there is a great movement in Lawrence, that the masses of the 25,000 workers are **revolutionary** and at the end of the strike there will be shop nuclei of Communists! It takes a low politician to make such a discovery, and of such types of politicians, Ballam gets the prize. When one looks at the true picture of the strike, it's no wonder it is in such a condition. When people insist on turning a strike of backward mill workers into a Communist campaign, it can not be otherwise.

— A CONFERENCE DELEGATE.

(Since this was written we have heard from comrade Shechet, who with comrade Cooperstein were delegates to the I. L. D.—Mooney Conference. The letter, in part, fellows—Ed.)

"The "leaders" of the I. L. D. have marked time for three weeks, which has not helped the Mooney movement. Proof of this was the attendance at the meeting last Friday night, November 13, when out of 46 delegates, only eight were present. Eight are sufficient, however, for the leadership of the I. L. D. to carry out its usual policy. When, in electing an executive committee, I was nominated for secretary and was the only one who accepted, Cantor at once saw to it that no "Trotskyite" be secretary of a united front Mooney committee, and called for more nominations! I assured comrade Cantor that the secretaryship was not uppermost in my mind, but only the opportunity to work on behalf of the Mooney movement, and, office or no office, nobody could prevent me from putting forward corect policies or carrying on my work.

After the setting up of part of the executive, the meeting proceeded with a report of the I. L. D. representative, followed by what was supposed to be, according to the agenda, a report on the Conference. Cantor elaborated on the Lawrence strike with the news that it came to an end on November 11; that the thousands of workers went back to work under a 10% cut, with the Pacific Mill shut down entirely. That during the strike 145 strikers and strike leaders were arrested and jailed, and that the I. L. D. needs funds to get these prisoners out. He concluded with entertaining Prager's motion to add the Lawrence cases to the Mooney campaign, under the general campaign for the release of all class war prisoners.

In the discussion I asked Cantor whether he reported for the I. L. D. in general or for the Mooney Conference, and in my remarks, pointed out that while every strike is our strike and we must give full suppprt to it and the arrested and jailed men and women, we must not forget that this is the duty primarily of the I. L. D. in its regular tasks.

Rallying A Mass Defense Movement

But the United Front Committee for Mooney, though called by the I. L. D., must devote itself to the Mooney issue and not allow it to be side-tracked by other events of the day. Of course the answer was what we could expect. Just as the Stalinists argued that the revolution in Spain was of no concern to us because it was a distant event, so in this instance came the remark, "We must bring the case closer home."

Is it a question whether this is a California case or a Lawrence case or a question of significance? We must be able to make this distinction. We must realize that around Mooney, because of his long standing in the labor movement and the national and interational significance of the case, we can rally the widest masses, and thus best aid all class war prisoners.

We must sound a warning. Let us not give Mooney cause to turn his face away from the Communists as he did from the reactionaries. Tom Mooney is our militant fighter of long standing. The Left Opposition will work unceasingly for the unconditional release of Tom Mooney. —C. SHECHET.

Soviet Celebration in Staunton, Ill.

STAUNTON, ILL.

We worked hard to make a success of our November 7th meeting in celebration of the 14th anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution. This meeting was held under the auspices of the Miners' Educational League and the Communist League of America (Opposition). Leaflets announcing the meeting were posted on the entrances to the mines and on mine tipples in and around Staunton.

Prior to the opening of the meeting the Stalinists appeared in the hall, headed by Joe Tash, the latest scapegoat for the mistakes of the leadership in the National Miners Union. Tash distributed leaflets announcing a meeting in celebration of the 14th Anniversary of the Soviet Union, under the auspices of the Communist Party, to be held in the same hall on Monday, November 9th. There is no doubt that this action was inspired by the earlier announcement of our meeting.

The meeting opened with about one hundred workers present, all miners. Comrade Tom Stamm, the speaker for the Communist League of America (Opposition), spoke on the Left Opposition and its attitude toward and relations with the Communist Party and Comintern. He gave an example of our policy for unity of all Communist forces by calling upon the workers also to attend the party meeting. The workers listened very attentively.

When the meeting was thrown open for questions and discussion, the Stalinists came into their special element. A misguided worker truculently attempted to provoke the meeting against the Left Opposition, but was promptly called to order by the chairman and by the workers themselves. One or two other questions were asked, and then Tash rose to the assault.

Tash Bungles Again

After a few nominal remarks, Tash launched into a denunciation of the Watts, the Allards and the Morgans! He was called to order. He shifted the ground of his attack—to slander comrade Trotsky. With lightning speed he disposed of the speaker, the Communist League and the International Left Opposition.

Getting his second wind he wanted to know why the Opposition didn't speak about the National Miners Union and the situation in the Illinois mine fields, instead of on the Russian revolution, etc. Comrade Goldberg later asked Tash why the Party was calling a meeting in celebration of the 14th anniversary of the Soviet Union. In answer to the statement that between the 10th and 11th plenum of the E. C. C. I., Molotov had been removed by Stalin from the praesidium of the E. C. C. I. Tash criticized the speaker for mentioning "individuals which **even** I haven't heard about". (!) A little later Tash railed against the speaker for introducing theoretical questions in workers' discussions. In conclusion, Tash moved that the meeting adjourn and give way to a meeting of the Unemployed Council which meets in the same hall. The motion was ruled out of order.

In genral Tash displayed all the signs which a petty functionary gains in the Stalinist school of theory and practice. It was plain to see that his little influence was considerably less after the meeting. Nor did he add to his prestige by asking me after the meeting in the presence of workers. "What kind of a clothing store have you got?", and then running away from the answer which I made **to the workers instead.**

Many workers approached the Left Opposition comrades atfer the meeting and expressed their thanks for an interesting and instructive afternoon, and asked us to come again and speak on other subjects. This we promised to do. On November 15 comrade Stamm will go to Staunton to speak at a meeting to launch a united front movement for the unconditional freedom of Tom Mooney and all other class war prisoners. This meeting is arranged by the Miners' Educational League. What will be the party's attitude toward the meeting and conference? Will they practice the same disruptive methods they used in St. Louis because the meeting has not been organized by them? Or will they work with the Left Opposition and other working class organizations in a united front?

—H. L. GOLDBERG.

Results ot the I.L.D. Methods in St. Louis

ST. LOUIS.—

Because of the stupid attempt of the local Stalinists to disrupt the conference, the first sessions of the St. Louis United Front Pardon Mooney Committee were devoted almost entirely to bitter discussion with no benefit to Communism or its official representatives. There was sharp resentment against the slanders made by the Stalinists upon everyone not a member of the C. P. or its auxiliary organizations, and their unwarranted proposal to amalgamate the conference with the I. L. D. conference which was not yet in existence.

At the November 11 session, the Stalinists for the greater part were absent. A measure of quiet obtained, during which the delegates of the Communist League of America (Opposition) succeeded in introducing a few organizational measures which were carried. Basing themselves on the release, read to the conference, and is sued by the California Molders Defense Committee calling for demonstrations on November 28 (the fifteenth anniversary of Mooney's commutation from a death sentence to life imprisonment), the Left Opposition delegates moved to hold such a demonstration. It was carried. A second motion to elect a committee to work out the details and with power to act was also carried.

Oppesition Preposes Mooney Demonstration

The committee met on Saturday, November 14. It consisted of two delegates from A. F. of L. locals, an individual introduced to the conference by a letter from the California Molders Defense Committee, and a delegate from the Communist League of America (Opposition). The individual on the committee, not representing an organization, Peter Frank, is a Mooney minstrel who goes from city to city giving lecture slides on the Mooney case, and is evidently more interested in organizing these lectures than in building a working class movement to force Mooney's release.

Through the garrulity and the prestige with which the California Molders Defense Committee endowed him in the eyes of the A. F. of L. delegates, he prevailed, despite the strenuous opposition of our delegate, upon one of the A. F. of L. delegates to vote against the demonstration. The other A. F. of L. delegate hesitated and finally abstained from voting. The vote was two to one against the demonstration, one abstaining. As far as we know, the Party will hold no Mooney demonstration in St. Louis on that date.

The Opposition succeeded however in having a recommendation passed to organize such a demonstration at a later date. We will work for this. In the meantime we will visit A. F. of L. locals and other working class organizations in an effort to build a broader united front.

The Communists Must Lead and Unite Movement

The committee meeting showed again the inability of workers ingrained with the A. F. of L. ideology, to grasp the working class nature of the solution to the Mooney case. Only a movement which a united Communist movement initiates and drives ahead with a clear-cut class policy can achieve Mooney's liberation, as well as all other class war prisoners. This will require patient, systematic work, a superior program of action and purpose. The Stalinist tactics of split and slander will not bring about a mass movement; quite the contrary.

Party and I. L. D. sectarianism make it possible for **minstrels,** labor fakers and reformists to decide the fate of a mass movement on behalf of Mooney and Billings. It is objective support that Stalinism thus unwittingly gives to such elements. These elements are growing bolder all the time, assuming leading positions in the Mooney movement, in order to cut it to pieces, and excluding Communists. Yet the T. U. U. L. resolution says, "the I. L. D. is leading the struggle for the release of Tom Mooney. . . ."

Comrades in the Party! Let us join together to build a united front movement in St. Louis for the liberation of Mooney, Billings and all class war prisoners, and thereby enhance the prestige and cause of Communism.

—CHARLES MAHLER.

Before the Party Control Commission

In my statement which I gave to the District Control Committee of the Party in New York on November 12, 1931, when my hearing took place on charges of "Trotskyism" I wrote:

"The bureaucratic degeneration of the party apparatus, due to the anti-Leninist leadership of Stalin and his Fosters, Browders and Weinstones, have resulted, in a complete disappearnce of a real proletarian democracy based on Leninist understanding of centralized democracy, and therefore the bureaucratic regime has deprived the party of its Bolshevik-Leninist character."

This statement is fully affirmed by the way my case was handled and carried through at the hearing before the District Control Committee. At the section two membership meeting which took place on October 27, I spoke against Perila's report on party work among the unemployed; I stressed the fact that the "united front from below" as conceived by the party is simply another name for propaganda work, and not a united front as understood by Lenin. Perila then openly threatened to have me before the Control Committee. That called forth a protest from the floor, and because of the protest against such tactics, Perila said that I would be given a chance to explain my position to the section membership.

At the Nucleus Meeting

Instead of that, the Section Committee issued an order to the nucleus unit organizer **not to admit me to unit meetings** until further notification. At the unit meeting I made a statement that this kind of persecution against a comrade who is involved on political matters, is open defiling of inner-party democracy, and a bureaucratic transgression of the political rights by the section committee.

Many comrades of the unit evidently also saw it in that light. When a motion was put to the unit that I leave the meeting in accordance with the edict from above, about half the members present abstained from voting.

The hearing before the District Control Committee further bore out the Opposition contention that since the beginning of the campaign against "Trotskyism" in 1923, a systematic revision of Leninism was taking place under the leadership of Stalin and Bucharin.

In my statement I also pointed out that the stagnation of the T. U. U. L. unions which are even officially referred to only as skeleton organizations (Siskind's report to the Section Two Convention) is largely due to the rejection of the united front tactic through the bureaucratic invention of a "united front from below" only.

The Party—Against Lenin on the United Front

The same kind of Stalin-Molotov tactics imposes "a heavy burden upon the revolutionary conscience of the party as a whole" in connection with the case of Tom Mooney. And at this very D. C. C. meeting, Perila, who acted as the Stalinist attorney, asked me if it is correct to use the united front tactics as formulated by comrade Lenin, **"in the present situation"!** So far has the third period ideology carried the bureaucrats.

To remain in the party and to be active means that I must reject the correct views of the Left Opposition, to repeat all the criminal slanders and fabrications of the Stalinist machinery against comrade Trotsky, the outstanding leader of the proletarian revolutionary movement today. I challenged the D. C. C. to print the statement that I gave them in the **Daily Worker.**

I call upon all the members of the party and those workers who are in sympathy with the communist movement to note the real situation in the Communist Party today, and to study the platform of the International Left Opposition and the Communist League of America (Opposition). I give here excerpts also of my statement to the Party District Control Committee:

Follow the Road of the Left Opposition

"Since the time of my joining the party in November, 1929, I have witnessed an incessant decline of our T. U. U. L. unions. These Left wing unions can justify their existence in the light of comrade Lenin's criticism of them in his work, "Leftism, the Infantile Sickness of Communism", only by the policy of such united front tactics as he himself used as a weapon to win the majority of the working class, to expose the "Left" phrase-mongers and the fakers in possession of the apparatus of the reformist unions. . . .

"The policy of the so-called "united front from below" . . . . has reduced our so-called revolutionary unions to a sick existence, permitted it to impose upon the membership such demands as ruined the Independent Shoe Workers' Union, led to the weakening of the Communists and the strengthening of the reformists in the Needle Trades Strike, coal miners' strike, Paterson strike and many others. The same wrong policy is responsible for the . . . stagnation, disintegration and bureaucratic regime in the Food Workers Industrial Union. . . .

"The same "united front from below" . . . permitted them to make a factional football out of the Mooney case . . . and the party lost a splendid chance to come to the political arena . . . as the representative of the widest layers of the workers. . . .

"Therefore, taking into consideration that the Left Opposition, under the Leninist guidance of comrade Trotsky, foretold from the very inception the way the party was traveling: taking into consideration that the Left Opposition was the only force which . . . fights relentlessly against all kinds of bureaucratic degeneration of the party under Stalin's misleadership:

I consider that the only way out of the present situation . . . is the full acceptance of the platform of the Left Opposition and a main road to it, a full and exhaustive party discussion of the burning questions of the party line.

(Signed) Leon Logan
Party Member, Section Two, Unit 3
District Two.

Engdahl on the Mooney United Front

NEW YORK.—

At the Party Forum in New York held November 8th, J. Louis Engdahl was the speaker on the subject, "How To Free Tom Mooney".Engdahl approached this question from the official party viewpoint, the so-called "united front from below." He concerned himself a good deal with attacks upon the Left Opposition because of its united front ideas. The Left Opposition, correctly, demands a united front of all workers' organizations—from the Communists to the reformist and reactionary labor organizations, feeling confident that in the struggle for the release of Mooney and Billings, the fakers and insincere elements can be exposed most easily to the workers for what they really are.

But perhaps Engdahl could not be expected to grasp this essential Leninist idea: instead he naively read from **The Militant** the latter's scathing condemnation of the labor fakers, and then, turning to the audience, inquired: "If that's their opinion of these leaders, why do they want a united front with them?" Thus always with ignorance.

The floor was later thrown open for discussion. I and other Left Oppositionists asked for the floor, but the Chairman, carrying out Amter's proscription of the Left Opposition, refused to let us have the floor. So the forum no longer was a forum. A whole string of "safe" speakers were given the opportunity to vent their customary spleen — "renegade", "counter-revolutionary", etc.—against us. Comrade Geltman was accidentally given the floor and pointed out the experiences of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, upon which Engdahl had said not a single word!

A Negro Worker Protests

One Negro worker, a functionary, took the floor, and stated that anyone in the audience who wished the floor should get it, and then the audience could judge for itself on the various views presented. This was a sound, healthy reaction, and is to be welcomed as evidence that the corrupting influences and practices of the party bureaucrats are resented in many quarters. But the Chairman, of course, ignored the comrade's demand and replied that it was the policy of the Workers' School not to grant the floor to the Left Opposition.

Engdahl then summed up in a cautious manner. The meeting adjourned, and we fraternized with a number of the workers. —HERBERT CAPELIS.

The New York Opposition Forum

The death of the Haymarket martyrs forty-four years ago was commemorated at the open forum of the N. Y. branch, Communist League of America (Opposition) on Friday November 13. Comrade James P. Cannon in a lecture described the events that are associated with the names of the Haymarket martyrs, the powerful movement for the eight hour day in the '80s. The Communists, he said, are the heirs of the great tradition they created. This tradition must be preserved by us, and serve as a source of inspiration today. Comrade Cannon analysed the struggle of those days for the eight hour day, and showed how many valuable lessons are applicable for a movement for the six hour day. He analyzed the philosophy of the Haymarket martyrs, showing its weaknesses in its anarchists trends. While they cannot be strictly identified with any group or party today, they stand closer to the Communists than to either the anarchists of the socialists. An interesting discussion from the floor followed the speech of comrade Cannon.

At the next forum on Friday November 20, Arne Swabeck will speak on "The Manchurian Crisis". The timeliness and importance of this question needs no comment.

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«Young Spartacus» is Out

By the time this issue of the **Militant** reaches its readers **Young Spartacus** will be off the press. Let the first issue be a spur for support to **Young Spartacus.** Subscribe to it! Send in your donation, immediately! Get your bundle orders! Distribute it among the youth!

Fifty Cents per year.

Young Spartacus will be obtainable in Chicago at Ceshinsky's Bookstore, 2720 W. Division St., and at other points where working class literature is for sale.

CHICAGO YOUTH AFFAIR

A Dance and Entertainment will be given by the Chicago Youth Group of the Communist League of America (Opposition on **Saturday, November 28, 1931** beginning at 8 P. M. **at 1435 No. Western Avenue.** All profits will go for the benefit of **Young Spartacus.**

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

ENGLAND

Conservatives Press Attack on Labor

Consequences of the Elections in Great Britain and Prospects for the Communists

Two days ago the General Election, described by the liberal **Manchester Guardian** as the "shortest, strangest and most fraudulent of our time", ended. Out of the confusion and the turmoil of the last few weeks has come the strongest reactionary Government this country has had since the war.

Most **Militant** readers will be familiar with the results of the Election before this letter appears in print. Some comment is however justified and necessary, for the effects of the Election are likely to be far-reaching. The clearer we are as to why the National Government was elected in this way, the nearer we shall be to establishing a correct policy for the English revolutionary movement.

First let it be said that the recent Election was the most vicious of modern times. The Conservatives set out to "smash Socialism" and its supposed advocates, the Labour Party (rather puzzling this to our comrades who say that Labour is the same as the Conservatives and who call the Labour Party "Social-Fascist"!); to establish protection, to lower the workers' wages and to drive thousands off of unemployment benefit. Their petty-bourgeois servants, the Labour Party, were too weak, too vacillating to carry the program through effectively: so, as in 1924 when the first Labour Government was swept aside to give place to the Baldwin Government, the Labour Party had to go in order to make room for more ruthless Government.

The Conservative Attack On Labour

To this end a sweeping attack was carried through upon the Labour Party, an attack waged by newspapers, the wireless, the platform and the cinema. The reply of the Labour Party was timid, cowardly and confused. More and more they were driven into a position where their only effective reply could be a class reply, a Socialist reply. But how could they reply in this way? How could they who decry class war rally the working class against their masters? How could men who had previously agreed to "economies" protest effectively against "economies"? With a shameful record as a Government, with the *whole basis for their reformist policy* swept away, with the knowledge, behind their semi-apologetic protests, that if returned they could do nothing, how could they rally the workers against the employers?

Against the fierce attack of the ruling class, the Labour Party could pit only weak words and pledges that rang false. By their timidity, by the confusion they spread, by the policy they had pursued when the "economy cuts" were made, Labour helped to weaken and discourage the working class and to expose the whole movement to the attack which, now begun, will be carried ruthlessly through to the bitter end.

Seldom has the mailed fist of capitalist rule been so clearly visible through the velvet glove of democracy. "Dare to demonstrate", said the National Ministers, "and we will have you batoned down." "Dare to return a Labour Government," said the financiers, "and we will pull down the pound sterling." "Dare to vote Labour", said the employer, "and I shall have to close down my factory." A lesson, this election, in the realities of capitalist democracy, a lesson soon to be expounded more clearly by the Employers National Government.

In such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the Conservatives were able to pull over the petit-bourgeoisie almost **en bloc** and even to influence the waverers in the ranks of the workers. Decisiveness, power, confidence and a bold working class program could have won Labour tremendous support; but these things cannot, in a crisis, come from the representatives of the petit-bourgeoisie; they can only come from the workers' revolutionary Party. So the strength of the Conservative's campaign enabled them to march the middle-classes, with drums beating and flags flying, to the Poll. The six and a half-million votes cast for Labour were working class votes, but they were votes cast without hope and with the minimum enthusiasm.

The weakness of Labour, together with the peculiarities of the electoral system, account for the weakness of the Labour Party in the new House of Commons. Here are the principle figures.

	Votes	Seats
For the Government (Tories, National-liberals & National-labour	14,297,597	550
The Labour Opposition	6,718,054	56
Communist party	72,824	Nil

It would naturally seem to follow that the Communist Party would rally considerable support around its candidates.

In a previous letter, the weakness of the Party's line in the Election has been dealt with: the results certainly show that there was much wrong. For the Election weakened, as we predicted, the mass movement against the cuts and also brought very few votes to the Party candidates.

The Results for the Communists

Of the total Communist poll of 72,024 votes, 43,892 were cast in four constituencies out of twenty-six. In the 1929 election the party polled 50,000 votes with twenty-five candidates contesting: in some constituencies this election saw an increase; in some, notably Greenock, Battersea and Ogmore there was a decrease. Insofar as votes indicate the amount of support existing for the Party, the results show how very weak the Party is in England and how effectively its recent campaign against the "economies" has been.

Prospects

It is clear that during this winter the employers will attempt to reduce wages heavily and that the application, by the National Government, of the "means test" to thousands of unemployed will worsen the conditions of large numbers of unemployed and employed workers. A correct policy, a clear fighting call, and a sensible approach to the workers will bring tremendous support to the Party. Without this the Party cannot grow and cannot fulfill its duty to the international working class.

But unfortunately we know that our leaders are incapable of achieving real and lasting results for the Party, and are incapable of playing a decisive role in the big struggles ahead. We have already seen, time after time, that the failure or treachery of Labour does not automatically bring increased support to the Party. Only if the Party membership can force a full unfettered discussion and from that discussion select a Bolshevik leadership; only providing that the power of the Stalinist machine can be broken and new life and vigor brought to the Party, can we hope to play a decisive part in the struggles of the next few months. To this end the activities of the Opposition comrades in England must be directed.

London, October 29, 1931.

ANGLICUS.

The Rise of Fascism in Britian

There is an old proverb to the effect that "coming events cast their shadow before them". It was not an accident that, simultaneously with the dissolution of Parliament, there appeared the first number of the first avowedly Fascist paper in British history; bearing the significant title of **Action.** And it was also no accident that the leader of the "New" party is an ex-leader of the Labour Party and a former protagonist of the "socialism in our time" policy of the I. L. P. Nor is it by chance that the editor of **Action,** Harold Nicolson, is a son of Lord Carnock, (Sir Arthur Nicolson) who as permanent head of the British Foreign Office was as responsible as anybody for the Imperialist War of 1914-18. This union of social-democratic demagogues and cynical members of the official ruling classes is a very significant beginning and bears a close resemblance to the beginnings of Italian fascism which was born from the union of Mussolini with the representatives of Italian imperialism whom Versailles had cheated of their expected prey.

It is true that the pages of **Action** show as yet little of the cynical logic and ruthless **realpolitik** that characterizes German fascism. We do not find in the utterances of Mosely and his colleagues anything of the clarity that characterizes the utterances of Mussolini or even of Hitler. But we have to remember that the English are not a theoretical people (not of course due to the fact that they have a special brand of "human nature", but as a result of the peculiar historical experiences of the British people), and their Protestant and insular heritage does not make for lucidity of thought as does the superb training in logic afforded to the Italian people by the Roman Catholic theology and the hard clarity of Latin literature. Nevertheless English fascism is learning. Moseley is an avowed disciple of Hitler, whose methods he has studied at first hand in Germany. His bodyguard of thugs recall the squadristi of early fascism with the inimitable "Kid" Lewis as a pocket edition of Italo Balbo!

The Conservatives and Fascism

Thus, it would be un-Marxist and practically the height of unwisdom to ignore or to underrate the "New" Party (the name shows the naive inexperience of its promoters) merely because it is at present crude and inexperienced. It is a fact of immense historical magnitude that in Britain, the classic home of Constitutionalism, a fascist party should have risen whose methods can only be consummated by action that is "unconsitutional" and liable to end in civil war. Only a student of dialectics can apprehend in its fulness the significance of this apparition that finally nails the lie that in England "human nature" is different, and that, therefore, Revolution (and Counter-revolution) is impossible.

It may be added that the importance of the birth of British fascism would be in no wise diminished even if the Tory party decides to steal Moseley's thunder and to run Winston Churchill (or Lords Lloyd or Rothermore) for the office of British dictator. The fact would still remain that Moseley had crossed the bridge from democracy to fascism and that the first step is always harder than the last; actually, it is possible that this may happen. The Tory Party has a semi-Fascist wing which will be strengthened as the progressive liquidation of the British Empire sends its imperial proconsuls home to roost! This wing is at present in the shade but with the decline of British capitalism, it may push the Baldwins and Oliver Stanleys (the present and prospective leaders of the democratic Tories) into the background.

The Road to Fascism

Should this happen the British bourgeoisie may prefer to establish fascism by means of its old and well tried servant, the Tory Party, rather than by means of the new-fangled **condottieri** of the "New" Party. In that case the Conservative Party would become fascist in fact but probably not in name. (It is, after all, a conservative party and its dislike of innovations extends to names; e. g. witness its fidelity to the old 17th century designation, "Tory". What have the politics of the age of Charles II and Shaftesbury in common with those of the age of imperialism and finance capital?'.

The actual development of fascism depends therefore on the British bourgeoisie as that of Mussolini did on the Italian bourgeoisie; and, while the Italian ruling class had no alternative to Mussolini, the British have always the Conservative party. As the crisis deepens, as protection fails to do aught but intensify the misery of the masses; as the Labour Party demonstrates more and more clearly that it is a reformist party with no possibility of giving any reforms; the British bourgeoisie will inevitably turn to fascism; and whether Moseley is the messiah or merely the forerunner; the result will be the same as far as the workers are concerned. The British ruling class has nothing to learn in ruthlessness from any bourgeoisie in the world and it is merely a matter of time before it learns to express itself with a clarity of which "Il Duce" himself would be proud.

In spite of its numerical insignificance the formation of the "New" Party is the most significant development of capital ism in Britain since the General Strike.

But events prove to be moving at a terrific speed and nowhere more so than in Great Britain. Under these conditions it is safe to infer that the supers of today will occupy the centre of the stage tomorrow.

—CAIUS GRACCHUS.

The Repressions In Spain

Despite all the calumnies of Stalin's disciples in Spain, we have the honor of being the first victims of the new Law for the Defense of the Republic.

On October 22, one day after the law was passed, the General Direction of Security (Police) sent several agents to our headquarters, to make a detailed inquiry and to confiscate whatever they released. For two days they went through our files without finding what they were looking for. At the time of the raid there was only one comrade there, the watchman, aged 71. They demanded of our old friend that he leave the place during the search. When I arrived at the office, they had already carried on for more than half an hour. I protested in vain. Galazza's police wanted to carry off the magazines, the periodicals, the books, in short, everything that we had in the place. Some of the comrades who had arrived interfered and the police calmed down a bit. They gave up the idea of seizing the periodicals and magazines that appear legally. But they took all the documents, the letters, etc. from correspondents and subscribers of **Comunismo** and our **Communist Publications.**

It is clear that the new law authorizes the police to confiscate all they please, but we know that this authorization does not produce the desired results. Our protests, which were sent out to the press, will not be published, nor heard. But the fact that we, the Left Communists, are the first victims of the new law proves that the bourgeoisie do not seem to take much stock in Stalin's opinion on our "counter-revolutionary" attitude. For many workers, this will be very instructive.

Madrid. October 25, 1931

—H. LACROIX.

BOSTON LECTURE!

A lecture on the **"Rise and Fall of the British Labor Government"** will be given by comrade Arne Swabeck, member of the National Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition) on **Friday, November 27, 1931, at 8 P. M.,** at the **Ambassador Gardens,** corner of Berkeley and Warren Aves., under the auspices of the Boston Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). The admission is 25 cents.

MILITANT DANCE
This Saturday !

The Third Annual Militant Dance on Saturday, November 21 promises to be the best attended and highest spirited affair yet held by the Communist League of America (Opposition) in New York.

The Greek comrades who were recently expelled from the Party and joined us as a group, will entertain with several interesting numbers. A good band will furnish the dance music, and on the balcony tables will be arranged for those who like to sit around to eat and talk.

The main purpose of this affair will be to afford an opportunity to all our friends, sympathizers and members to spend an enjoyable evening and get better acquainted with each other, while at the same time learn more about the fundamental principles of the Left Opposition.

According to reports received by the committee in charge, tickets are selling well, and many who have never attended our previous affairs, have definitely promised to come. Among them will be several outstanding figures in the labor movement, as well as the members of the Marxian Youth Club.

Keep November 21 open. Come and bring your friends. A good time is assured to everybody.

The Date—Saturday evening, November 21st

The Place—Stuyvesant Casino, 2nd Avenue at 9th Street.

Russian-German Trade Relations

The appeal entitled, "Is a Soviet Germany Possible?" only proves all the more how important it was at the time, for the Soviet government to elaborate a model plan of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Germany, right at the beginning of the crisis. That would have had an incomparable agitational value at the present time. The least that could be done now, is: to catch up with what has been missed.

I have only cursorily glanced through the anti-Soviet manifesto of the **Leipziger Volkszeitung,** (lack of time) but its dull shallowness leaps right to the eye. The Russian social-democrats maintained in 1917 that the dictatorship of the proletariat was all right for a highly industrialized country—but in no case for a backward Russia, for which it could only mean disaster. Besides, the dictatorship would not last more than three days (later one, three weeks). This was the social-democratic evaluation of the October revolution. Now, after fourteen years, the German social democrats says: Soviet regime, i. e., dictatorship of the proletariat?—in a backward country: very good; there are wide dimensions, an overwhelming preponderance of the peasantry, etc. For highly industrialized Germany, the dictatorship of the proletariat would mean a complete collapse.

On a Soviet Germany and Soviet Russian Relations

On economic collaboration between a Soviet Germany and the Soviet Russia. Here, the German social democrats manipulate the present day export and import figures, in order to demonstrate how insignificant the trade turnover between Germany and the U. S. S. R. is. That only proves that if Soviet Germany were to work according to the rules of capitalist Germany, it would suffocate. Industrial import into Russia is limited by the credit conditions. In the course of several years, the collectivized agrarian economy, now for the most part merely a form of bureaucratic coercion, could be made extremely fruitful, and the entire turnover of both countries could be completely revolutionized by German industry and organizational capacity.

But what of the transition period? Evidently, Germany would have to go through a few hard years. The workers, however, would at least understand why they made such sacrifices. But even in these most acute transition years, assuming that the rest of Europe would remain capitalist, Germany would not be isolated from the world market. Once the proletariat has expropriated the landowners, the bankers and the industrialists, it will immediately be able to produce for the world market at cheaper prices than at present. Under such circumstances, an economic blockade is absolutely out of the question.

Direct contact with Soviet Russia would immediately be re-established, for between a Soviet Germany and Soviet Russia, capitalist Poland would soon be crushed. However, it is quite improbable that European capitalism can remain firm for any considerable length of time, after a revolution in Germany.

It is really necesary to write a more lengthy work on this subject. The German comrades could perhaps divide the material among themselves, take up the work in the different fields, and in the first instance collect material to this end. Later on, I could also join in the collective work.

(Signed) I Trotsky.

Agents and newstands throughout the country that now handle **The Militant** will handle **Young Spartacus.**

IN SPAIN

The Political Situation

The Socialist-Republicans Support the Church

The socialist-republican bloc has been showing us, since its taking the power, that if the elaboration of a democratic constitution is much easier in theory than in bourgeois practice, a reactionary and anti-working class constitution, on the other hand, can be made very easily, both in theory and in practice.

The democratic bourgeois constitutions of the past have been characterized, above all, by the anti-religious spirit by which they were guided and stimulated. When a monarch has been dethroned, the masses have always looked with sympathy on all revolutionary manifestations against the clergy, which undoubtedly is one of the most characteristic accompaniments of absolutism and tyranny.

In Spain, the republicans and socialists, for lack of a solid and consistent doctrine, have employed the bulk of their energies in combating the domination of religion, of that Catholicism which since before the Inquisition has inspired, and in practice exercised, the power of the monarchy.

The Church Remains A Power Under the Republic

Therefore, when the republic was installed in Spain, the people believed that, along with Alfonso de Bourbon, the clergy would have to get out. The republicans and socialists remained silent. Lerroux forgot his famous phrase, "Enter the convents, remove the veil from the nuns and raise them up to the honorable rank of mothers". And when the people of Madrid set fire to the convents, the Government trembled as much as the clergy.

The power of the Church was being re-established, but the Government was losing its prestige and the confidence of the masses. Cardinal Segura was the man who knew how to terrify the government while apparently sacrificing himself, and he has succeeded in impregnating with religious and reactionary spirit the entire work of the Constituent Assembly. As a contributing factor, Alcala Zamora and Maura occupied the most responsible posts in the government of the republic. These two dangerous men insisted on sacrificing themselves at the last minute, and left the Government to give the impression that something serious was being accomplished. Still, in practice and in reality, the constitution of the Spanish Republic bears the impress of the spiritual seal of the reactionaries, Maura and Alcala Zamora. Their dropping out of the Government is a fraud and a deception on the people, who see in them the black hand of reaction.

The religious orders, the "opium of the people", will continue to exercise their harmful influence on the culture and the interests of the people. The Spanish law to which they will be submitted is only an indecent masquerade to conceal the truth. Only the action of the masses will succeed in extirpating this evil.

New Laws Against the Workers

Moreover, our "republican-socialists" have passed a Law for the Defense of the Republic, to use the organized violence of the state power to repress all manifestations and prevent the people from saying what it thinks and what it wants.

Any capricious and despotic Government minister can make and unmake, at his discretion, the internal policies of the country. The working class movement, the sole victim of this law, can be dissolved if the minister in question thinks it desirable, and its militants jailed or deported if he desires. The workers cannot declare a strike except on eight days' notice. The violation of this rule involves the dissolution of the organization, the confiscation of its property, and the imprisonment or deportation of the violators.

Anyone who dares to denounce this evil can be included in the scope of the law and receive the punishment whic it provides. It is a gag which everyone is compelled to swallow who does not submit to the reactionary republic, or suffer the consequences.

This law was passed after the resignation of Zamora and Maura. This proves that the spirit of this law, and of the whole brand-new constitution which is being made, is inspired by the reactionary doctrine of Zamora-Maura, the two most able and determined men in the Provisional Government.

Azana's ideas are no different from those of Zamora. While he was Ministe of War he could save his repution and perform his work more or less cleverly. On becoming President of the Republic his first declaration was, "We must make the Republic respected, or if not respected, then feared".

The situation is clear. The working masses, lacking a Communist Party to guide them in imposing themselves on the government, have been thrown back into second place by brutal repression. The reaction, on the contrary, has been gaining ground and imposing its wishes to the point of impregnating with reactionary wisdom the constitution which the Cortes is working out.

The Masses Demand Bread

But this will in no way resolve the social problem. The starving producing masses ask for bread, with more force each day. The governing classes are making a constitution, and creating laws to deny bread to the starving in the most "legal" manner possible. The coming winter threatens to be stormy. The Spanish Communist Party has a great mission to accomplish, but the correct policy is not that which if practices, of denying the importance of the religious problem and hiding itself at critical moments.

For us, Communists of the Left Opposition, the religious problem, the republic and the constitution have no importance in themselves, because they are made for the bourgeoisie, our class enemy. What has a great importance, what we must do, is to denounce these laws, these problems, before the workers, to explain to them that these laws cannot solve our problems, nor can the constitution nor the most democratic bourgeois republic in the world.

The future of the Spanish Republic can be changed only by the working class, directed by a genuine Spanish Communist Party. The anarcho-syndicalist Federation is terrorized by the new law for the defense of the republic.

Our task is enormous but full of great perspectives and possibilities.

—HENRI LACROIX.

Madrid, October 23, 1931

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EDITORIAL NOTES

THE CASE OF DREISER

The ideological superstructure of class society is only a reflection, and thereby a defense, of its economic basis of exploitation This applies also to literature. Do not write against the prevailing social system, and above all do not advocate another one: this is capitalism's real standard of literary values. It is the decisive criterion which its high-priests and critics bring to their judgment of literature, for all their pretences of artistic disinterestedness and prattle about "art for art's sake". We are witnessing an illustration of this law of class society at the present moment in the beginning of the campaign to "revalue" and discredit Theodore Drieser.

Ridicule is the first weapon with which they are attacking the great writer whom only yesterday they were hailing as the king of American novelists. Through the authoritative medium of the **New York Times** they are passing the word to make fun of Dreiser. This is the way they treated his suit to restrain the exhibition of the motion picture distortion of "An American Tragedy" as just another murder trial. In like manner the same paper has greeted his investigations of the reign of terror in the Kentucky mine fields. Rest assured the critics will take the tip, as they always do when the masters of the bread speak up. A general attack against Dresier's commanding position on the field of literature is in the cards.

Bourgeois literary opinion never welcomed Dreiser. Rather it accepted him after he had bludgeoned his way to eminence by the truly colossal achievements of his pen. He never painted the social system of his day in rosy hues. On the contrary. The author of "Sister Carrie" and "the Financier" showed it up in all its hideous ugliness and injustice down to the most sordid detail. In exposure of capitalist society as it really is—not sparing the whited sepulchre of its "morality"—he blazed the trail for other writers. Among all the American writers who, following him, have taken the social milieu for their theme, he drew the truest, the most striking and revealing picture. "He stands alone", said Mencken, and in that he recorded not so much an opinion as an inescapable fact.

But it was not by virtue of these achievements alone that Dresier won the universal acclaim that has been his in the recent years. It was something in the quality, or rather something lacking in the quality, of his writings that made it possible for him to gain the "recognition" of all the literary critics, including the little word-jugglers who complained about his "style". Dreiser drew no conclusions from the tales he told. This was his saving grace in the eyes of the bourgeois censors. Over everything he wrote there hung a heavy fog of pessimism, futility, fate. Bourgeois opinion could tolerate that. Cynicism is its own creed, and designation is its prescription for the masses.

Dreiser's fall from grace is not due, of course, to any weakening of his literary powers. The shafts of ridicule that are being hurled at him now, and the heavier attack that can be expected to follow—witness his indictment in Kentucky on a "morality" charge—proceed from the profound change that has taken place in Dreiser's own attitude toward social questions. As is known, he has arrived at a positive communistic social view, and with the intellectual honesty and courage which marks him and distinguishes him from his contemporaries, he is speaking his conclusions out loud. This is his crime. For this they want to tear down and destroy the titan of American letters.

Let them try. They will not succeed. Every blow dealt at Dreiser by the literary hessians of the slave system will only endear him all the more to the masses. Indeed, it is quite possible that the gifted writer will begin only now to find his own public and become a real tribune of the people.

That part of the proletariat which is beginning to awaken, which is not resigned to slavery will hear him gladly. The working class movement of the present generation has been poor and weak. It had little to offer to the intellectuals, and because of that it had but few of them to espouse its cause, and out of that few it can safely be said that ninety per cent were four-flushers and pretenders. It is growing stronger now and it will gain in strength as the exploiting system reveals increasingly the fatal weakness which proceeds from its own inner laws. With this new strength will come an accession of intellectual forces turning away from the hopeless, decaying system. Theodore Dresier is a herald of this development, and a most welcome one. Let us hope that his first courageous steps are motivated by a conviction that will not be shaken and by a determination to follow the path to the end. If that proves to be the case his loss of prestige in the bourgeois world will have abundant compensations, and will be in itself a tribute to him.

THE END OF THE LAWRENCE STRIKE

The general strike of the Lawrence textile workers—the second strike at Lawrence within the year—which started on October 5, has ended in a defeat for the workers. The 10 percent wage cut, the immediate cause of the strike, remains in force, and in all other respects the victory of the employers in this important struggle is indisputable. Such is the immediate outcome. As to how long they will hold the present advantage or how soon the workers will be able to recuperate from their defeat and undertake a fresh struggle—these are questions to be answered in the future.

To our regret the **Militant** was not in a position to receive authentic information regarding the strike from responsible comrades on the ground. For that reason we were not able to comment on its development or to offer opinions about the tactics from week to week. For the same reason we refrain now from an analysis of the defeat.

Attention is drawn here to only one point, a very important one for the future of the Left wing labor movement. The statement of the United Rank and File Strike Committee (a pseudonym for the National Textile Workers Union) says in its statement of November 11th, printed in the **Daily Worker** of November 16th: "The splendid general strike of the Lawrence textile workers . . . was broken on November 11th, 1931 in the Arlington and American Woolen Co. mills by the **United Textile Workers Union"**. (Our emphasis.)

We are quite ready to believe that statement, even without detailed informatoin to substantiate it. The McMahon organization has been a strike-breaking organization for decades. Everybody who has followed the struggles in the textile industry knows that. As far back as 1911 the same union under John Golden entered into a deliberate conspiracy with the mill owners to break the strike conducted by the I. W. W. The attempt however, was frustrated. In 1913 the same thing was tried at Paterson. Numerous other instances could be cited, running from that time to the present day. The U. T. W. was long ago discredited in the eyes of the textile workers. That is why, after the decline of the I. W. W., the revolts of the textile workers were expressed through independent organizations—first through the Amalgamated Textile Workers and later at Passaic and other points through the organization led by the Communists. There has been no lack of experience with the treacherous gang which leads the U. T. W. in the interests of the bosses.

The question which logically arises is this: How was it possible, after all this experience—and in Lawrence, the very citadel of the militant tradition, of all places—for another strike to be "broken by the United Textile Workers Union"? The I. W. W. was able to prevent it at Lawrence in1911. The Communists prevented it at Passaic in 1926. The experience of the past and the radicalism of the times were two powerful elements of support for a Left wing victory. How then, did the reactionaries get the upper hand and thereby deliver the workers to the bosses?

The statement of the United Rank and File Strike Committee contains no answer to this question. And it can be assumed in advance that the impending flood of "self criticism" regarding the strike in the Party press will also pass it by. But the question will remain a pressing one for the Communist and Left wing workers. They will find the answer in the policy and methods of the Stalinist leadership. There is the real source of the Left wing defeats and the reactionary victories under circumstances which are most favorable the opposite.

—J. P. C.

Japanese Imperialists Press Attacks

(Continued from page 1)

and banking authorities profess to be alarmed thereat, because of the Manchurian situation and the speculation that has already taken place with the yen. It is desirous of checking the steady outflow of gold but at the same time must intrench the position of the yen in other countries, particularly in the United States with whom economic relations are increasing. By the end of November it is expected that 105 millions of dolars in gold metal will have reached the United States from Japan, by which it is hoped to strengthen Japan's position in the United States, as well as to stop speculation over the yen at home.

American Imperialism At Its "Job"

The position of the Chinese National Government of Chiang Kai-Shek is grotesque throughout. The Kuo Min Tang, which does not hesitate to slay tens upon thousands of the flower of the Chinese proletariat, is powerless before the Japanese invasion. It continues to call piteously upon the League of Nations and American imperialism for assistance. The latter is determining the best way both to check Japan and to plunder China. So far there has been no interference with the shipment of 6,000 tons of nitroglycerin which the Japanese government is reputed to have ordered from American manufacturers. The blood-profit is there, without as yet any difficulties for the United States and is therefore allowed.

The United States Government, through Secretary of State Stimson, is winding its way through secret negotiations, which, no matter what the immediate outcome, can bode no good for the workers of China, Japan, or America. When the imperialists are compelled to hide their schemes, they are more than ever fraught with ill for the workers. War alliances for the future are no doubt being consummated in secret between the imperialist powers. The outstanding aim is a combination against the Soviet Workers' Republic. All workers must be on guard, and demand that the secret treaties be made public, so that the war-mongers can be unmasked. The behind-the-doors negotiations must be made known to all. The imperialists are preparing war; all workers must be made to realize the danger and to work for its prevention.

Tactics for the Communists

Previously we have pointed out the necessary tactical lines for the Communist movement to follow in the Japanese-Chinese war and in the prospective war danger. These remain the same. The defense of China and Manchuria can best and only be achieved by a struggle of the Japanese workers against the Japanese imperial government; by the development of the struggles in China of the workers and peasants against the Chinese bourgeoisie, militarists and landlords, for the overthrow of the Chiang Kai-Shek government and the Kuo Min Tang, the hangmen of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry. There is the most imperative need for the unity of the Chinese Communists in this terrific struggle. The Comintern must be compelled to adopt this unity policy, despite Stalin, the splitter of the Communist movement. In every country the workers must be aroused to the dangers of world war.

It is for the Comintern to adopt a genuine **international policy on all** questions if there is to be a successful mobilization of the world's proletariat against the efforts of the bourgeoisie to accomplish a unity of the capitalist powers to destroy the Soviet Republic. Less talk by the Stalinists of more or less fictitious Soviet Republics in China. More concentration on the revival of the morale and organizations of the Chinese working class; more efforts to rebuild a solidly founded Chinese Communist Party. No more talk about possible "alliances" with the Chinese Kuo Min Tang, either of the "Right" or "Left" variety. Rebuild the Comintern on its original Leninist foundations, so that once again it will be firmly impressed that a real defense of the Soviet Union and against a growing world war danger, rests upon the ability of the Communists in each country to organize the working class into labor unions, to draw them toward the Communist movement, and to bring them into militant struggles against their native exploiters.

—MARTIN ABERN.

Organization Notes

Our recent activities reflect the results of some of the important decisions of the second national conference. Steps are being taken toward a general organizational tightening up. New adherents have joined the Left Opposition. Our members are becoming more active in the life of the Communist movement and workers' mass organizations. Efforts toward a greater Marxian clarity are expressed in educational and propaganda activities.

In regard to the first point, the New York branch can show results. Every member is being held to his obligations, dues payments and remittance on the sustaining fund pledge on time, with assignments of specific activities for each and a check up as to how it was attended to. All are being assigned to become direct participants in mass organizations and many have already aggressively filled their posts. This has become particularly evident by the onslaught of the party bureaucrats against Left Oppositionists voicing our views at party forums as well as by the campaign of expulsion of our members from the I. L. D.

Since the second conference our New York branch has recruited 12 new members. Six Greek comrades who have for some time adhered to the Left Opposition views, were among these twelve. They were rewarded by the Stalinist bureaucrats with expulsion from the Greek Spartacus workers club. These comrades are already functioning as a fraction, preparing as a first step to issue some of our literature in Greek.

Educational Activities

In this field the New York branch has only made a beginning which still leaves it behind other branches. But there is nevertheless one gratifying aspect which should be mentioned at the outset. Real efforts are now being made to build up the regular weekly open forum. The results have been a gradual improvement. The atttendance has reached around one hundred. With continued efforts that number should soon be far surpassed. Two classes are being conducted: one in the Fundamentals of Communism by Martin Abern, and the other in Marxism by Arne Swabeck.

In other cities, results have also been obtained. The study class conducted by the Boston branch has an attendance of 30 members. Party and Y. C. L. members were among them despite special measures taken by party bureaucrats to keep them away. In fact, prior to the opening of the class, party functionaries called a special meeting and gave orders to all members not to attend the lectures.

The Chicago branch has made a very good start of its educational activities. Hugo Oehler has for some time functioned as instructor for a class of young comrades under their own group auspices. Recently the branch has itself organized two study classes, one elementary and one advanced. The latest reports were that the former had an attendance of 15 and the latter an attendance of 19 members. This records only a beginning. Since then the Chicago branch has obtained its own headquarter at 1435 N. Western Ave., and with a center for all activities, progress is certain to be recorded right along. One of the first steps is the decision to hold weekly open forums at the new headquarters.

From Philadelphia comes the report of 11 members attending their class in Marxism. "We consider it quite a success," writes the Secretary, comrade Goodman; "the attendance is composed of mostly young fellows of promise." Others who wish to attend can do so by getting in touch with the secretary at 327 S. 11th St.

Our two comrades, George Clark and Tom Stamm are again in the field, helping in building the organization. Comrade Stamm has now located in St. Louis for the time being. We have there only a small branch, but the effect of a little help from the outside is already increased activity. As reported elsewhere in these columns a successful Soviet anniversary meeting was held in Staunton, Ill., which is close to St. Louis.

The Canadian Trial

(Continued from page 1)

were auxiliaries of the party. The Ukrainian, Finnish, and Hungarian language organizations, were similarly alleged to be controlled by party fractions. Following the technical ritual of identifying the accused as members of the Communist Party, the Crown sprang its "sensation", which was no sensation to anyone familiar with the course of such trials. They produced Sergeant Leopold of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, their under-cover man, who had functioned under the name of Eselwein as the government spy in the party from its inception in 1921 until his exposure and expulsion in 1928.

Leopold-Eselwein deposed that prior to joining the party he had been a member of the O. B. U. He had become secretary of the Regina branch of the party. The Z or underground organization had been formed under the mandate of the Pan-American Bureau of the Comintern which was staffed by Charles Scott, Louis Fraina and Sen Katayama. The Canadian party, he alleged, had received $3,000 to initiate the activity. The organizer of the party on a tour through teh West, Jack MacDonald, has informed him that the purpose of the organization was the overthrow of the existing institutions by the advocacy of force and violence. The Z party had been liquidated following the reports of the International delegates to the Fourth Congress, Maurice Spector and Jack MacDonald.

—MAURICE SPECTOR.

(These brief factual data of the Canadian Communist trial marks a certain culmination of a series of increased reactionary onslaughts. An estimate and review by comrade Spector, of the issues involved and of the conduct of the party on trial will follow in our next issue—Ed.)

Mooney Greets Soviet Russia

Tom Mooney, outstanding class war prisoner in the United States sent his greetings on the occasion of the celebration of the 14th anniversary of the Russian October Revolution. In a letter to Trud, central organ of the Soviet Trade Unions, he says:

"From this tomb of the living dead where I have been buried alive for the past fifteen years because of my militancy, devotion and fidelity to the working class, I greet the workers of the Soviet Union with outstretched eager hands of genuine working class fellowship and solidarity.

"As world capitalism sinks ever deeper and deeper into the quagmire of its own despair, corruption and brutal exploitation of the toilers, you, the conquerors of Czarist tyranny, the builders of a better civilization by your unbelievable successes in socialist construction in the Soviet Union are a sublime inspiration to the workers everywhere. You raise the hopes of the world proletariat ever higher and higher.

"We are miles apart, but space means nothing—the struggle is world wide. I am with you in spirit and with all my heart. I am with you in all your struggles. I rejoice in the success of your social revolution. I am with you unreservedly, and without equivocation."

Demonstrations in Soviet Russia

Mooney feels that he owes a debt of gratitude to the Russian workers because it was their demonstration in front of the American Embasy in Leningrad in 1917 which called the attention of the world to his case. The protest of the Russian workers was responsible for the action of President Wilson in urging that Mooney's death sentence be commuted to life imprisonment.

Demonstrations for the freedom of Money are now being held throughout the Soviet Union, as well as in all European and Asiatic countries, and will be intensified on the occasion of the anniversary of the commutation of Mooney's death sentence to life imprisonment on November 28, 1918.

Build a United Front Movement For Mooney

More than ever is it necessary for the American workers to mobilize for the unconditional freedom of Mooney and Billings, who have been imprisoned at San Quentin prisons, and Folsom California for fifteen years.

Mooney has demanded such a united front. The socialists and similar groups have naturally opposed such a broad movement. For the official Communist party and the I. Y. D. likewise to have prevented the development of such a united front movement is both stupid and criminal, and in direct violation of the request and hope of Mooney in his call for the formation of the broadest possible "Pardon Tom Mooney Committees".

Factory Councils in Germany and Workers' Control of Production

Dear comrades:

You refute the slogan of workers' control of production in general and the attempts to achieve it by the factory councils, in particular. Your main reason is the statement that the "legal" factory councils are inadequate for the purpose. Nowhere in my article have I spoken of "legal" factory councils. Not only that: I have quite unequivocally pointed out that the factory councils can become organs of workers' control only on the premise of such pressure on the part of the masses, that a double power in the factories and in the country has been partly prepared and partly already established. It is clear that this can happen as little under the existing law on the Factory Councils, as the revolution can take place in the framework of the Weimar Constitution.

And only anarchists can draw the conclusion therefrom, as if it were impermissible to exploit either the Weimar Constitution or the Law on the Factory Councils. It is necessary to exploit the one as well as the other. But, in a revolutionary fashion. The factory councils are not what the law makes them, but what the workers make them. At a certain stage, the workers "dislocate" the framework of the law or break it down, or else simply disregard it altogether. Precisely therein consists the transition to a purely revolutionary situation. Still, this transition is as yet before us, and not behind us. It must be prepared.

That careerists, fascists, social-democrats are very often to be found in the factory councils, does not speak against making use of them, but only proves the weakness of the revolutionary party. As long as the workers tolerate such factory councilmen, they will not be able to make a revolution. Apart from the workers, the party cannot grow stronger, for the most important arena for the activity of the workers is the factory.

The Empoyed and Unemployed

But, you will reply, there are the thousands of the unemployed in Germnay. I did not overlook this. But what conclusion can be drawn from this? To neglect the employed workers entirely and to stake all hopes on the unemployed? That would be a purely anarchist tactic. Naturally, the unemployed form a powerful revolutionary factor, particularly so in Germany. But not as an independent proletarian army; rather as the Left wing of such an army. The chief kernel of the workers is always to be sought in the factory. That is why the question of the factory councils continues to exist in all its sharpness.

Furthermore, even for the unemployed it is not at all of no concern, **what** takes place in the enterprises and in the process of production as a whole. The unployed must unreservedly be drawn on the control of production. Its organizational forms will be found. They will result from the practical struggle itself. Naturally, all this will not take place in the framework of the existing laws. But forms must be found that will embrace the employed as well as the unemployed. One's own weakness and passivity cannot be justifiled by referring to the existence of the unemployed.

You say that the Brandlerites are for control of production and for the factory councils. Unfortunately, I have long ago ceased to follow up their literature, because of lack of time. I do not know how they pose the question. It is quite probable that here too they have not rid themselves of the spirit of opportunism and Philistinedom. But, can the position of the Brandlerites, even in a negative sense, have a decisive importance for us? The Brandlerites learned something at the Third Congress of the Comintern. They distort the Bolshevik methods of the struggle for the masses in their application or propagation. Must we really, for this reason, give up these methods?

As I can gather from your letter, you are also opponents of the work in the trade unions and the participation in parliament. If that is the case, then we are separated by an abyss from one another. I am a Marxist, not a Bakunist. I stand on the ground of the reality of bourgeoisie society, in order to find in it the forces and the levers with which to overthrow it.

The German "Ultra-Lefts"

As against the factory councils, the trade unions, parliament, you counterpose—the Soviet system. In this connection, the Germans have a very excellent verse: "Schoen ist ein Zylinderhut wenn man ihn besitzen tut". (Indeed a silk hat is very fine, provided only it is mine.) You have not only no Soviets, you have not even a bridge to them, not even a road to the bridge, nor a footpath to the road. The **Aktion** has transformed the Soviets into a fetich, into a super-social spectre, into a religious myth. Mythology serves people as a cover for their own weakness or at best as a consolation. "Because we are powerless in the face of death, because we can do nothing in the factories, therefore . . . therefore, as a reward for this, we rise to such a height, that the Soviets fall from heaven to our assistance." There you have the entire philosophy of the German Ultra-Lefts.

No. With this policy, I have nothing in common. Our differences of opinion are not restricted at all to the German "Factory Council Law"; they are related to the Marxian laws of the proletarian revolution.

—TROTSKY.

Phila. Defendants Appeal

(We reprint below the leaflet just issued by the Morgenstern-Goodman Defense Committee on behalf of the two young working class victims of the Flynn Sedition Act of Pennsylvania. The motion for a new trial in their case will come up on or about November 21st. The I. L. D. failed to defend these workers. It is the intention of the Defense Committee to carry the case as far as is possible in the courts, and to development a miltant mass movement for the release of Morganstern and Goodman. All possible financial assistance should be rendered the Comittee and funds should be sent to the: Morganstern-Goodman Defense Committee, 327 So. 11th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.—Ed.)

WORKERS!
UNITE AGAINST BOSS TERROR

Once again, your interests as workers are threatened. This time in the State of Pennsylvania, the government strike-breaking law, the notorious Flynn Sedition Act, is being used to attack the living standards of the working class.

In Philadelphia, two workers, Communists, members of the Communist League of America (Opposition) have been made the subject of an attack by boss terror against the militant section of our class. Leon Goodman and Bernard Morgenstern, two young workers, are charged with sedition and face up to 20 years imprisonment for distributing leaflets presenting the Communist position on unemployment. They told the workers to struggle **for** unemployment insurance; the 6 hour day—5 day week without reduction in pay; for recognition and extension of long term credits to the Soviet Union; and **against** wage cuts. These leaflets told the laboring masses that unemployment, like war, is an inseparable part of the present capitalist hunger system: That only the social revolution of the working class, on a world scale, can solve the unemployment problem.

We must understand that the persecution of these two workers is not an isolated case, but is part of a nation-wide attack on the part of the bosses against the living standards of the toiling masses. If they are put in jail today, any struggle you will put up tomorrow will meet with the use of this and similar anti-labor laws.

The united effort of all working class organizations and friends is necessary to protect these two young rebels and free all class war prisoners. It is the duty of every worker to come to the defense of these two militant fighters in the cause of working class emancipation.

Goodman and Morgenstern have already been declared guilty in the courts of Philadelphia by Judge Reed. They are out under heavy bail. An appeal has been made for a new trial. In order that they be freed: in order for us to break the infamous anti-labor Flynn Sedition Act, the voice of all labor must be raised and heard in protest. Fight for free speech, free press and assemblage for the workers.

WORKERS! UNITE AND FIGHT FOR THE FREEDOM OF MORGENSTERN AND GOODMAN.

FOR THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF MOONEY AND BILLINGS, THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS; AND ALL CLASS WAR PRISONERS.

Issued by the
MORGENSTERN-GOODMAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE
327 So. 11th St., Phila., Pa.

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